

LE CLERC

-- LIFE OF

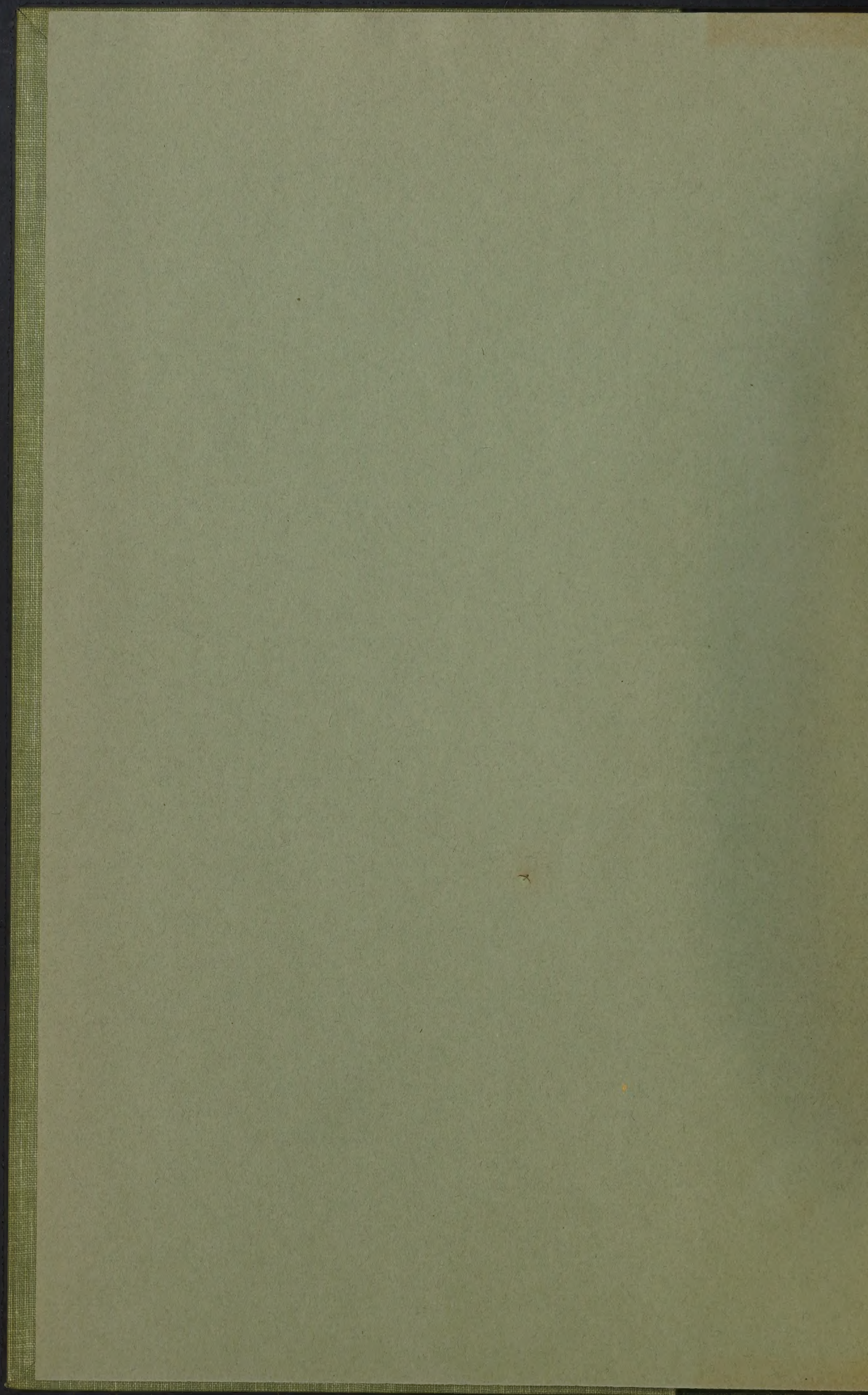
JOHN LOCKE

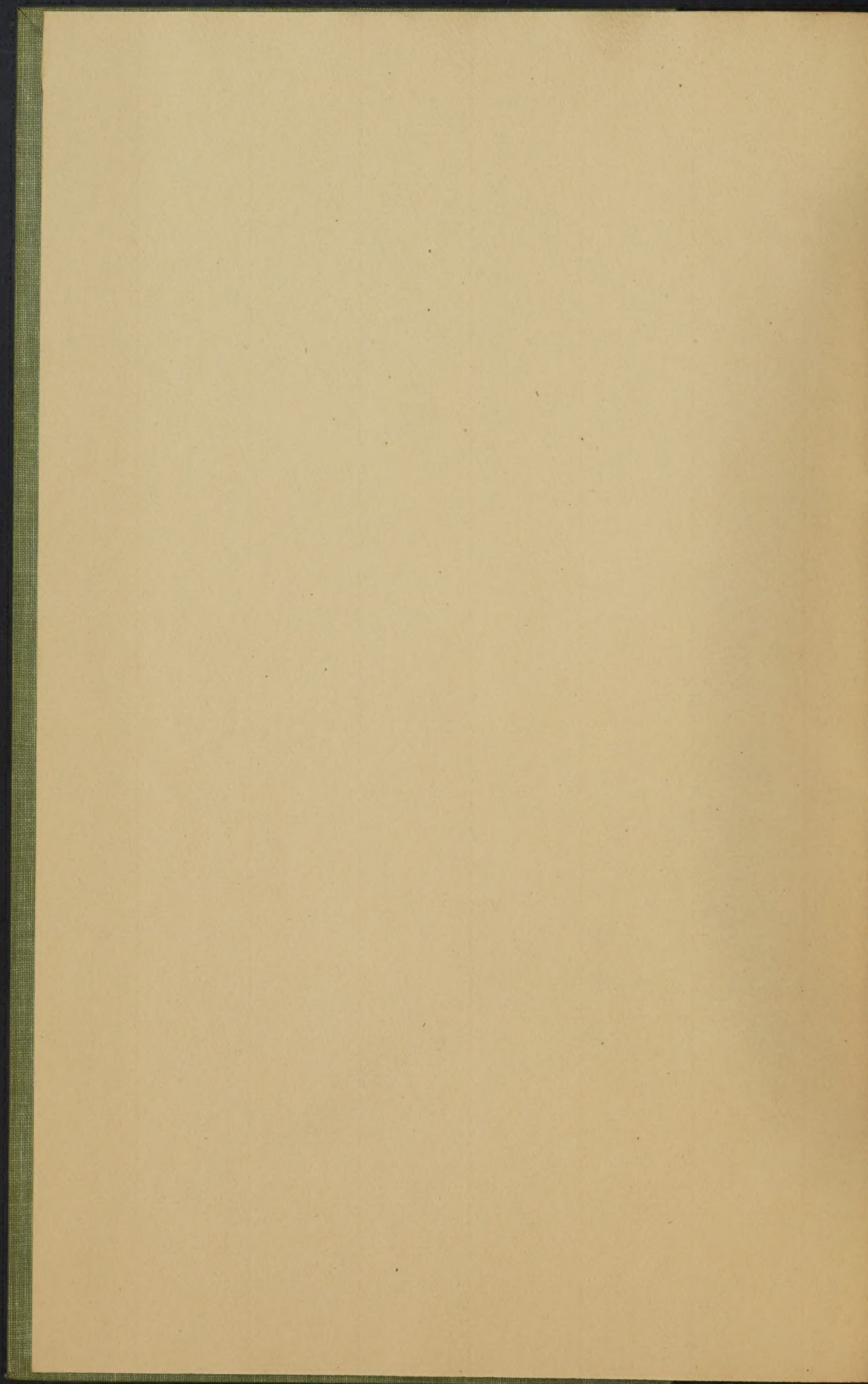
- LONDON, 1714

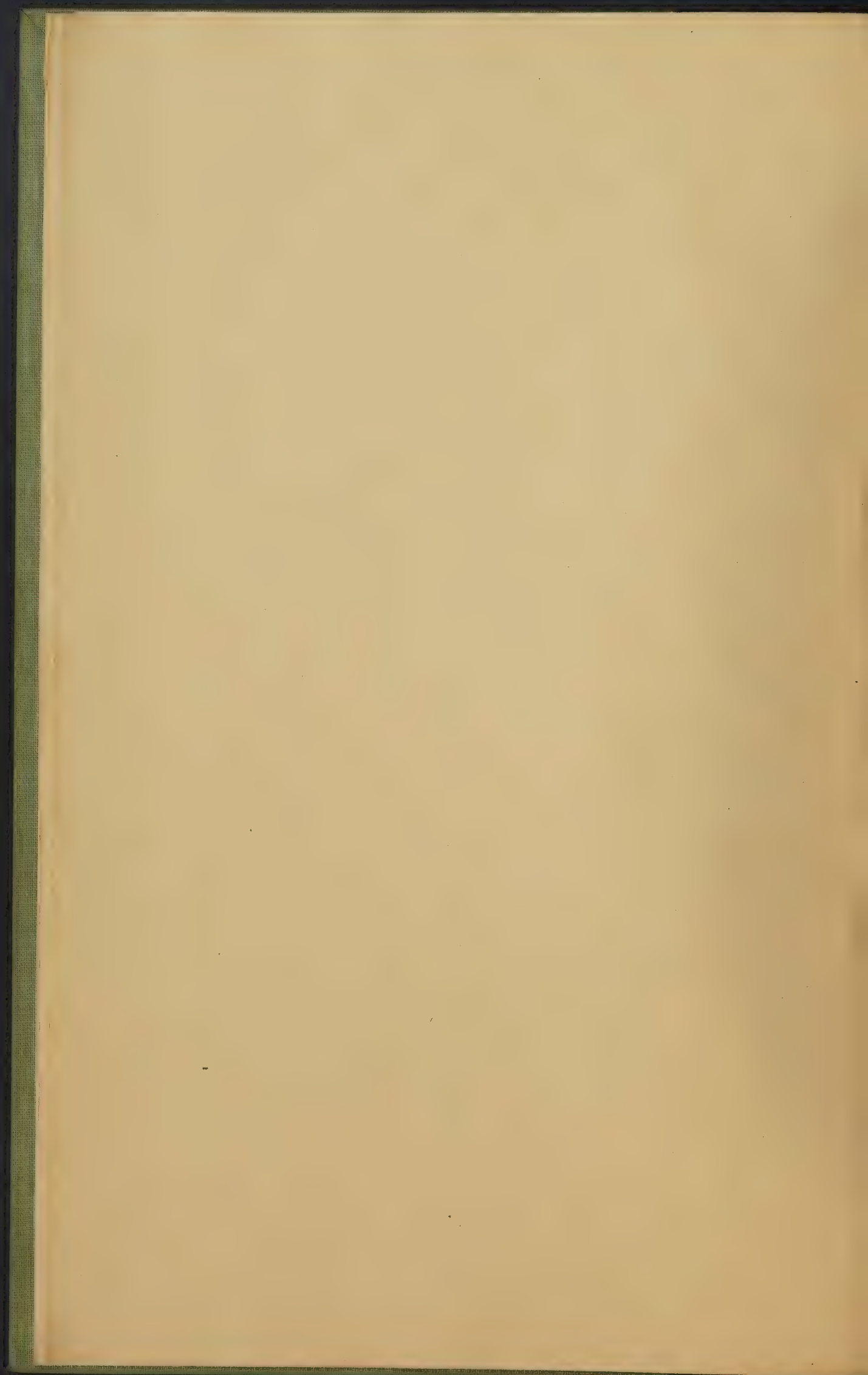




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O F T H E
L I F E
A N D
W R I T I N G S
O F
JOHN LOCKE Esq;

The THIRD EDITION Enlarged.



L O N D O N,

Printed for J. CLARKE in the *Old-Change*, and E. CURLL
at the *Dial* and *Bible* against *St. Dunstan's Church* in *Fleetstreet*.
M. DCC. XIV.

AN ACCOUNT
OF THE
LIFE
AND
WRITINGS
OF
JOHN LOCKE ESQ.

The Third Edition Enlarged.



LONDON.

Printed for J. LARKE in the Old-Church, and H. KILPATRICK
in the Strand, opposite to the Theatre Royal, in the Strand.
MDCCLXIV.

T H E
P R E F A C E.



IN this Third Edition of Mr. Locke's Life, the Reader will find some Material Additions. It was first written in French by Mr. Le Clerc, and publish'd in the Sixth Tome of his *Bibliotheque Choisie* in the Year 1705. a Book that does not lie in the way of every Person who would be willing to read the Life of so Great a Man. So that I persuade my self, this Translation will be acceptable, even to some who understand French, as well as to many that do not. This Account is but short, too short indeed for the Life of one that lived to the Age of Seventy Three Years; who spent the best part of his Time in Business, convers'd with Persons of the Highest Rank, was engag'd in Matters of the Greatest Consequence, and who bore as Considerable a Character in the World as any Private Gentleman ever did. But there is this to be said for it, that it takes notice of nothing mean and trivial; and, which is more, 'tis Authentick.

Mr. Le Clerc was one of Mr. Locke's intimate Friends, and tho' with many he may be condemn'd for some particular Opinions, yet I hope we may believe him as to Matters of Fact; and he gives us part of this Account upon his own Knowledg, part he had from the Earl of Shaftesbury, and part from the Lady Masham. It would be well if all Histories were founded on such good Authority. For the Reader's Satisfaction, I shall translate most of Mr. Le Clerc's Introduction to this Account.

“ Having been honour'd (says he) with a share in the Friendship of the late Mr. Locke, and having receiv'd a great deal of Benefit from his Conversation while he was in Holland, and in Reading his Books; I am oblig'd by the Laws of Friendship and Gratitude to give the World some Account of the Life of this Extraordinary Person, and to do what lies in my power to perpetuate his Memory: I am so much the more willing to take the Task upon me, because I think this is an Instance very fit to be brought, to

“ stop

“ stop the Mouths of those who fancy Piety to be inconsistent with good
 “ Reasoning, and the Study of Philosophy; as if Religion had been
 “ calculated only for the more unthinking Part of Mankind. One might
 “ have observed in him the Life of a Christian, and a diligent and care-
 “ ful Study of the New Testament, joined with a Delicacy of Wit,
 “ and an unusual Accuracy of Reasoning: And we may from hence learn,
 “ that the Piety which has the best Foundation is never seen but with the
 “ most refined Judgment.

“ I wish it were in my power to write a full Account of Mr. Locke,
 “ and by these means to set such an exact Picture of him before my
 “ Readers, that they need but carefully to consider it, in order to frame
 “ a just Idea of him. In my Opinion there is no better way, either to
 “ praise, or to find fault, when there is Occasion to do it: But since I
 “ could not furnish my self with such Memoirs as are necessary to en-
 “ able me to write a compleat History of his Life, I shall go as far
 “ as I can in it, with the Materials which are come to my Hands; and
 “ I shall take particular notice of those Things which I have learned
 “ from the Earl of Shaftesbury, who was brought up under Mr. Locke,
 “ and from the Lady Masham, at whose House he spent the last
 “ Years of his Life. This Honourable Lady, Daughter of the late
 “ Famous Dr. Cudworth (who was one of the greatest Men in
 “ England) has had an Opportunity of getting a perfect Knowledge
 “ of Mr. Locke while he liv'd at her House; and she being every
 “ way qualified to make a Judgment of him, the Light that I have
 “ received from Her has been very useful to me, in drawing the Picture
 “ of this Great Man.

“ I wish I had entreated this Lady to take from his own Mouth some
 “ farther Memoirs of his Life; but now the Publick must be contented
 “ with those which I have obtained of his Friends since his Death. As
 “ for what pass'd about the Time in which he became acquainted with
 “ the Grandfather of the present Earl of Shaftesbury, and the Respect
 “ that he had afterwards in his House, I owe the Knowledge of that to
 “ the present Earl; in whom we may see what Advantage it is, even
 “ to those on whom Providence has bestowed the best Natural Parts,
 “ to be brought up by the Care of one who knew the right Method of
 “ educating Youth.”

“ I shall only add this sincere Wish, That all those who admire
 “ the Reason, and embrace the Notions, of the Great Mr. Locke,
 “ may imitate his Example in his Piety to God, and Charity
 “ to Man.

London, 1695.

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L I F E

O F

JOHN LOCKE Esq;



MR. *John Locke* was the Son of *John Locke* of *Pensford*, in *Somersetshire*: The Family had its Rise at a place call'd *Channon-Court*, in *Dorsetshire*. He was born at *Wrington*, 7 or 8 Miles South of *Bristol*; and, according to the Parish-Register, was baptiz'd the 29th of *August*, 1632. His Father was Heir to a much greater Estate than he left behind him; and was a Captain in the Parliament-Army, in the Civil Wars, in the Reign of King *Charles I.* And it is very probable, that at that time, by the misfortunes of the War, he lost some part of his Estate: for his Son us'd to speak of him as a Wise and Sober Man; so that I can't think he either lost it by his Folly, or squander'd it away by his Extravagance. Mr. *Locke* never mention'd his Parents but with a great deal of Respect and Tenderneſs. Tho they were young enough when they married, yet they had but two Children, of which he was the eldest; the other, who was also a Son, died of a Ptiſick above 40 Years ago.

Mr. *Locke's* Father took great Care of his Education, and carried himself towards him in such a manner as his Son hath often commended: He was severe to him while he was a Child, and kept him at a very great distance; but as he grew up he was more free and familiar with him; and when he was come to Years of Discretion, they liv'd together rather as Friends than as two Persons, one of which might justly claim Respect from the other; insomuch, that (as Mr. *Locke* has said) his Father excus'd himself to him for having beaten him once in his Childhood, rather in Anger than because he deserv'd it.

Mr. *Locke* began his Studies in *Westminster-School*, where he continu'd till the Year 1651, from whence he was sent to *Christ-Church College* in *Oxford*, of which he was elected *Fellow*. Mr. *Tyrrell*, Grandson to the famous Archbishop *Usher*, sufficiently known by his Works, remembers that Mr. *Locke* was then look'd upon as the most Ingenious Young-Man in the College.

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But altho Mr. *Locke* had gain'd such a Reputation in the University, he has been often heard to say, of the first Years of his being there, That he found so little satisfaction in the Method that was prescrib'd them for their Studies, that he wish'd his Father had never sent him to *Oxford*. When he found that what he had learnt there was of little Use to him, to enlighten and enlarge his Mind, and to make him more exact in his Reasonings, he fancied it was because his Genius was not suted to those Studies. I myself have heard him complain of the Method he took in his Studies at first, in a Discourse which I had with him one day on that Subject; and when I told him that I had a *Cartesian* Professor for my Tutor, a Man of a clear Head, he said he was not so Happy (tho 'tis well known he was no *Cartesian*) and that he lost a great deal of time when he first applied himself to Study, because the only Philosophy then known at *Oxford* was the *Peripatetic*, perplex'd with obscure Terms, and stuff'd with useles Questions.

Being thus discourag'd by the Method of studying which was then in vogue, he diverted himself by writing to some Gentlemen, with whom he chose to hold Correspondence for the sake of their good Humour, their pleasant and agreeable Temper, rather than on the account of their Learning; and he confess'd, that he spent some Years in this manner. It is not probable that Mr. *Locke* wrote so well then as he did afterwards, when he knew more of the World; but his Letters would without doubt have been very entertaining to all, had they been preserv'd: And since he has been engaged in publick Business, some Persons of the most Polite Judgment, have thought that in Letters of this nature, for a Delicacy of Turn he was not inferior to *Voiture*; tho' it must be confess'd of his *English*, it is not so pure, or so much studied, as *Voiture's French*. In his two last Letters of *Toleration*, in his Defences of the Reasonableness of Christianity, and in his Answers to the Learned Dr. *Stillingfleet*, late Lord Bishop of *Worcester*, we may see some Passages that are a proof of this. In those places where the matter allowed him to speak Ironically, or to use a little Raillery, he did it with so much Wit as gave Life and Beauty to his Discourse, and at the same time kept up that grave and serious Character which runs throughout those Pieces; and never failed in that Respect which was due to the Bishop of *Worcester*.

Mr. *Locke* did not acquire this great Reputation he had at *Oxford* (as Mr. *Tyrrell* says) by his Performances in the publick Disputations; for he was ever averse to these, and always look'd upon them as no better than Wrangling, and that they served only for a vain Ostentation of a Man's Parts, and not in the least for the Discovery of Truth, or Advancement of Knowledge.

The Works of *Des Cartes* were the first Books that brought Mr. *Locke* (as he himself told me) to relish the Study of Philosophy: For though he did not assent to the Truth of all his Notions, he found that he wrote with great Clearness, which made him think that it was the fault of the Author's, rather than his own, that he had not understood some other Philosophical Books.

And thus beginning afresh to study, and more earnestly than he did before, he applied himself particularly to Physick; tho this never turn'd to his own profit, because he did not find that he had a Constitution of Body strong enough to bear those Fatigues, to which they are necessarily exposed who would have any considerable Practice: But tho he never practis'd Physick, he was in great esteem with the most eminent Physicians of his Time. We have a clear Proof of this in the Dedication of an excellent Book, *De Morbis*

Morbis Acutis, published in the Year 1675 by the famous Dr. Thomas Sydenham; where he speaks to this purpose: "Besides, you know that my Method hath been approv'd by one who hath examin'd it thorowly, and who is our common Friend; I mean Mr. John Locke, who whether we respect his Wit, or his piercing and exact Judgment, or whether we look to his prudent and regular Behaviour, there is no Person in our Age that excels him, and there are but few who are his Equals." This was the Opinion of one of the greatest Practitioners in Physick, and one of the honestest Men that the last Age produc'd: Therefore I shall repeat this Character in his own Words, because they are much more expressive in Latin; *Nosti praterea quem huic meæ methodo suffragantem habeam, qui eam intimius per omnia perspexerat, utrique nostrum conjunctissimum, Dominum Joannem Locke; quo quidem viro, sive ingenio judicioque acri & subactò, sive etiam antiquis, hoc est, optimis moribus, vix Superiorem quenquam, inter eos qui nunc sunt homines, repertum iri confido, paucissimos certè pares.* After the Preface of this Book, there are some elegiack Verses of Mr. Locke's, which are indeed full of Wit and Fancy, but the Stile of them is not altogether Exact or Poetical. He had too little esteem for the Poets to throw away much time in reading them, or to take the pains to imitate them. He sign'd those Verses in this manner; *J. Locke, A. M. Ex Æde Christi. Oxon.* He contented himself with the Title of Master of Arts, without taking the Degree of a Doctor of Physick; but those that did not know him, usually called him Dr. Locke. This he told me when I dedicated to him one Volume of my Philosophy, in 1692.

In 1664 he left England in the capacity of Secretary to Sir William Swan, who then went Envoy to the Elector of Brandenburg, and some other German Princes. In less than a Year he return'd, resum'd his Studies at the University of Oxford, and, among other Things, he applied himself to Natural Philosophy; as is evident from the Journal which he kept of the Changes of the Air, from the 24th of June 1666, to the 28th of March 1667; for the regular Observation of which, he us'd a Barometer, Thermometer, and Hygroscope. This Journal may be seen, in the General History of the Air, publish'd by Mr. Boyle at London, 1692.

While he was at Oxford in 1666. he came acquainted with the Lord Ashley, who was afterwards Earl of Shaftesbury, and Lord High Chancellor of England. His Lordship had been for a considerable time indispos'd by a Fall, whereby his Chest was so much bruise'd, that it occasion'd the gathering of an Imposthume, as appear'd by a Swelling under his Stomach: For the Cure of which, he was advis'd to drink the Mineral Waters of Astrop; and wrote to Dr. Thomas, an Oxford Physician, to send for some to Oxford against his Arrival. But Dr. Thomas being oblig'd at that time to go out of Town, left his Commission in Charge with his Friend Mr. Locke: and the day after his Lordship's Arrival, the Waters not being ready by neglect of the Person imploy'd to fetch them; Mr. Locke was oblig'd to wait upon his Lordship to excuse himself, and was introduc'd by Mr. Bennet, who came in the same Coach with my Lord. His Lordship gave him a genteel Reception, according to his usual manner, and was very well satisfy'd with his Message. When he was about to take his leave of him, my Lord, who was extremely well pleas'd with his Conversation; would needs make him stay Supper: And as his Lordship was taken with Mr. Locke's Discourse, so Mr. Locke was charm'd with my Lord Ashley, whose Wit and Civility gave him a distinguishing Character among those of his own Rank.

He was one who had a quick and sharp Wit, an accurate and solid Judgment, a retentive Memory, noble and generous Sentiments; and with all this,

this, a gay and pleasant Temper, which he retain'd in the midst of the greatest Troubles. He had read much, and seen more of the World. In a little time he acquir'd a great deal of Knowledge and Experience, and became the best Statesman in *England*, at an Age when others scarce begin to understand or enquire after Publick Concerns. The Employments he had when K. *Charles II.* made use of his Service, took him off from his Studies: But he was of so quick an Apprehension, that by once reading a Book, tho in haste, he could see its Faults and Excellencies sometimes better than those who perus'd it at their leisure. Besides, he was a Man of a free and easy Carriage, an Enemy to Compliments, and not in the least Ceremonious; so that one might converse with him without constraint, and use all desirable Freedom. He carry'd himself familiarly to all Men, and yet never did any thing unworthy, or below his Character. He could never suffer what had the least appearance of Slavery, either in himself, or his Inferiours.

So that Mr. *Locke* with pleasure all his Life after reflected on the Satisfaction he receiv'd from his Conversation; and whenever he prais'd him, he did it not only with Respect, but even with Admiration. As those who knew the Penetration and Sincerity of Mr. *Locke*, will from hence form to themselves a high Idea of my Lord *Ashley*; so those who were acquainted with my Lord *Ashley*, can't but think that Mr. *Locke* was a Man of an uncommon Genius, when they consider the Value he had for him.

After all this, 'tis no great wonder that between two such Persons as these there easily arose an inviolable Friendship. But to continue our History: His Lordship engag'd Mr. *Locke* to dine with him the next day, and to drink the Waters (as he himself had partly design'd) that he might enjoy the more of his Company. Leaving *Oxford* to go to *Sunning-Hill*, where he drank the Waters, he made Mr. *Locke* promise to accompany him thither, as he did in the Summer of the Year 1667. And when his Lordship afterwards went to *London*, he oblig'd him to promise that he would lodge for the future at his House. Mr. *Locke* did so; and tho he never practis'd Physick, his Lordship was intirely guided by his Advice, in opening the Imposthume he had in his Breast, which sav'd his Life, tho it never could be clos'd again.

After this Cure, his Lordship had so great an Esteem for Mr. *Locke*, that altho he had experienc'd his Skill in Physick, he ever after regarded it as the least of his Accomplishments. He advis'd him to turn his Thoughts another way, and would not suffer him to practise Physick out of the House to any but his particular Friends. He would have had him rather apply himself to the Study of Ecclesiastical and Political Affairs, which might have some relation to the Business of a Minister of State. And Mr. *Locke* succeeded so well in these Studies, that his Lordship began to consult him on all occasions of that nature. He not only took him into his Library and Closet, but brought him into the Company of the Duke of *Buckingham*, my Lord *Halifax*, and other Noblemen of the greatest Wit and Learning, who were pleas'd as much with his Conversation as my Lord *Ashley*: For tho Mr. *Locke* had a serious Air, and always spoke to these Gentlemen in a modest and respectful manner, yet there was an agreeable Mixture of Wit in his Conversation.

The Freedom which he us'd with Persons of a superiour Rank, had somewhat which I can't express, that agreed very well with his Character. One day three or four of these Lords being met together at my
Lord

Lord *Asbley's*, rather for their Diversion than Business; after the usual Compliments were over, the Cards were brought, when little or no Discourse had pass'd between them. Mr. *Locke* took notice of the Game for some time; and then taking out his Pocket-Book, he seem'd to write somewhat with very great Seriousness. One of the Lords having observ'd it, ask'd him what it was that he was writing? "My Lord, says he, I endeavour to gain as much as I can in your good Company; and having waited with impatience the Honour of being present at a Meeting of the Wifest and most Ingenious Men of the Age, and enjoying at length this Happiness, I thought it proper to set down your Conversation; and I have accordingly set down the Substance of what has been said within this hour or two." There was no need for Mr. *Locke* to read much of this Dialogue; these Noble Lords perceiv'd the Banter, and diverted themselves a while with improving the Jest: they left their Play, and enter'd into a Conversation more agreeable to their Character, and so spent the rest of the Day.

In 1668, the Earl and Countess of *Northumberland* having resolv'd to travel into *France*, they desir'd Mr. *Locke* to make one of their Company. He readily comply'd with them, and staid in *France* with the Countess, whilst the Earl went to *Rome*. This Noble Lord fell sick in the way, and died; which oblig'd his Lady to return sooner to *England* than they at first design'd. The Journey was without doubt very pleasant to Mr. *Locke*; for this Lady was every way accomplish'd: she spared for no Expence, and where-ever she came, she had very great Honours paid her.

Mr. *Locke* at his Return into *England* lodg'd, as before, at my Lord *Asbley's*, who was Chancellor of the Exchequer. However, he held his Place in *Christ-Church College* at *Oxford* (of keeping the Changes of the Air) where he sometimes resided. Whilst he was at my Lord *Asbley's*, his Lordship intrusted him with the remaining part of the Education of his only Son, who was then but about Fifteen or Sixteen Years old: which Charge he carefully perform'd. This young Lord being of a very weakly Constitution, his Father thought to marry him betimes, lest the Family should be extinct by his Death. He was too young, and had too little Experience, to chuse a Wife for himself; and my Lord *Asbley* not having time to make choice of a suitable Person for him, desir'd that Mr. *Locke* would undertake it. This was no easy Province; for tho his Lordship did not insist upon a great Fortune for his Son, yet he would have him marry a Lady of a good Family, an agreeable Temper, a fine Complexion; and above all, one that had a good Education, and whose Carriage was as different as possible from the Behaviour of the Court and City-Ladies. However, Mr. *Locke* took upon him this nice Business, and very happily acquitted himself of it; for from this Marriage sprung the present Earl of *Shaftesbury*, with six other Children, all very healthful, tho his Father was but weak, and died some Years ago. As Mr. *Locke* had the Care of great part of the Education of this Lord, so he was entrusted with that of his eldest Son; whom we had the honour of seeing here in *Holland*, and whose good Sense, Judgment, Fancy, Learning, and obliging Carriage, free from all formal and affected Ceremonies, with a natural and easy Eloquence, plainly shew us that he was educated by no less excellent a Person than Mr. *Locke*: of which his Lordship hath testify'd a grateful Sense on all occasions, and always speaks of him with Signs of a more than ordinary Esteem.

In the Year 1670, and 1671, Mr. Locke began his *Essay concerning Human Understanding*, at the earnest Request of Mr. Tyrrell, Dr. Thomas, and some other of his Friends, who met frequently in his Chamber to converse together, as he himself hath told me. But his Business and Travels hinder'd his finishing it at that time. I think it was about this time that he was admitted Member of the *Royal Society*.

In the Year 1672, my Lord *Ashley* was created Earl of *Shaftesbury*, and Lord High Chancellor of *England*, and gave Mr. Locke the Office of Secretary of the *Presentation of Benefices*; which he enjoy'd till the End of the Year 1673, when his Lordship resign'd that Post.

Mr. Locke, whom this Great Man made privy to his most secret Affairs, was join'd with him in his Disgrace; and afterwards gave his assistance to some Pieces which his Lordship publish'd; to stir up the *English* Nation to have a watchful eye over the Conduct of the Roman Catholics, and to oppose the Designs of that Party.

On this occasion I cannot pass over in silence a remarkable Affair, which was transacted in Parliament, Anno 1672. It is well known, that at that time King *Charles II.* in conjunction with *France*, made war on the *United Provinces*: But the Sums that were remitted from *France* not being sufficient to carry on the War, he thought it necessary to try what the Parliament would raise him. For this purpose there was a Draught prepar'd in the King's Council, of the Speech which the Lord Chancellor was to make to the Parliament, to persuade them to approve of the War, which that Prince had declar'd against the *Dutch*. But this appearing too weak to the King and Council, as not pressing the matter home enough, they thought fit to alter it; and, in spite of the Lord Chancellor's Advice, to insert these words of *Cato*, *Delenda est Carthago*; intimating, that it was the Interest of *England* utterly to ruin *Holland*. This being resolv'd, the Lord Chancellor must pronounce the Speech as it was prepar'd. His Lordship shew'd a very great Concern at this to Mr. Locke, and to another of his Friends, who hath since declar'd it in Writing. However, the Lord Chancellor being look'd upon as the Mouth of the King, and not speaking in his own Name, and often contrary to his own particular Sentiments, his Lordship was oblig'd to get it by heart; and altho he spake very fluently, and had a great Presence of Mind, yet he was so much disorder'd, that he would have Mr. Locke behind him with the Speech, to prompt him if he should be at a stand. This made a great noise in *Holland*, and his Lordship was thought very ill of by those who were ignorant of his own Sentiments, and the Office of a Lord Chancellor. But this Noble Lord, in a little time after, perceiving the Mark that the Court aim'd at; and the Duke of *Buckingham* having shewn him, that not only the Duke of *York*, but even the King, was a Papist (tho he conceal'd it, by setting up for a Wit, and by appearing on all occasions very indifferent as to Matters of Religion) he left the Court-Party, who in vain try'd all means to keep him in their Interest: his Lordship had so great an Aversion to Popery, Tyranny, and Arbitrary Power, that tho he was in other things very moderate, there was no moving of him in these respects. This is well known to all those who had the Honour of being acquainted with him, or who have had his Character from them.

However, Sir *William Temple* in his *Memoirs* speaks very much to his disadvantage, and insinuates, that he was one of the Promoters of the War against the *United Provinces* in 1672. But it must be consider'd, that he had a private Pique against my Lord *Shaftesbury*, because when his Lordship

ship was Chancellor of the *Exchequer* he was against the King's making Sir *William Temple* a Present of Plate, which he desir'd at his Return from his Embassy, according to a Custom that his Lordship thought was very prejudicial to the King's Treasury: and this is a sufficient Reason why we should give but little Credit to what he says, with respect to my Lord *Shaftesbury*. But to return to Mr. *Locke*, in June 1673, he was made Secretary to the Commissioners of Trade; which Office brought him in Five Hundred Pounds *per Annum*. But this Commission expir'd in December, 1674.

In the following Summer, 1675, my Lord *Shaftesbury* thought it necessary for Mr. *Locke* to travel, because he was very much inclin'd to the Pitsick: He went to *Montpelier*, where he staid a considerable time. There it was that he came acquainted with the Earl of *Pembroke*, who was then call'd Mr. *Herbert* (the Name of his Family) because his eldest Brother was at that time living. He ever kept up his Friendship with the Earl, and afterwards dedicated to him his *Essay concerning Human Understanding*; and I have heard him speak of this Lord, as one for whom he had the highest Respect. From *Montpelier* he went to *Paris*; where he became acquainted with Monsieur *Justel*, at whose House the Learned generally met: and there he saw Monsieur *Guenelon*, the famous Physician of *Amsterdam*, who read the Anatomy-Lecture with great Applause. Mr. *Locke* took down his Name, and the place of his Abode, at *Amsterdam*; and his Friendship was very advantageous to him some Years after, as we shall find in the Sequel. He likewise enter'd into a particular Friendship with Monsieur *Toignard*, who shew'd him a Copy of his *Harmonia Evangelica*; of which there were but five or six compleat, and which he has not yet publish'd, tho he has been earnestly desir'd to do it. Mr. *Locke* had apply'd himself particularly to the study of the *New Testament*; and we shall see hereafter what were the Fruits of his Labours.

The Earl of *Shaftesbury* being reconcil'd to the Court (out of an honest design of being as serviceable as he could to his Country) was made President of the Council in the Year 1679; which oblig'd him to desire Mr. *Locke's* return to *London*, which he accordingly did: but not being wholly recover'd, and finding himself afflicted with an *Asthma*, he could not tarry long there, the Sea-coal which is burnt in that City being so very offensive to him. He was oblig'd from time to time to pass some Weeks in the Country, that he might breathe in a pure Air: And sometimes he went to *Oxford*, where he still kept his Place in *Christ-Church College*.

The Earl of *Shaftesbury* (as I have said) having again taken his Place in the Council, for the Good of the *English Nation*, rather than to carry on the Designs of the Court, which aim'd at the Establishment of Popery and Arbitrary Power; fresh Crimes were laid to his Charge, and the King sent him to the Tower. But he was acquitted in spite of the Intrigues of the Court; and in December, 1682, he retir'd into *Holland*. King *William III.* who was then *Prince of Orange*, knowing that his Lordship's only Crime was, that he oppos'd the Designs of the Court; he was receiv'd very kindly there, and made himself a Burgher of *Amsterdam*, lest the King should send to demand him of the States; who by a Treaty are oblig'd to deliver Traytors to the Crown of *England*, if they are not made Burghers of some Town in *Holland*; and *England* is oblig'd to do the same with respect to the States.

Mr. *Locke* did not think himself any longer safe in *England*; for tho they could not hurt him according to a due Form of Law, yet 'twas possible they might imprison him, and let him lie there for some time, to the endangering

gering his Health and Life; so he follow'd his Lordship, who dy'd soon after in *Holland*. It is an honour to this Province, and to the Town of *Amsterdam* in particular, for having entertained and protected so illustrious a Refugee; without regarding those former Prejudices which it had receiv'd against him, on the account of the Speech which he deliver'd as Lord Chancellor to the Parliament in the Year 1672. A grateful Sense of this is retain'd in the Family, as the present Earl of *Shaftesbury*, his Grandson, hath often told me. May this Town ever remain a safe Sanctuary to the Innocent, and by its generous Behaviour draw down upon itself the Praises and Blessings of all those who are Lovers of Vertue; not only in its Prosperity, but even when it suffers the sharpest Persecutions.

Mr. *Locke* being at *Amsterdam* about the end of the Year 1683, renew'd the Acquaintance he began at *Paris* with Monsieur *Guenelon*; and got acquainted with his Father-in-Law, Monsieur *Veen*, senior Physician of this City, and one of its most skilful and fortunate Practitioners. In *January*, 1684, Monsieur *Guenelon* being to dissect a *Lioness*, which dy'd of the excessive Cold that Winter; Mr. *Locke* came thither, and became acquainted with several other Physicians. Here he met with Monsieur *Limborch*, Professor of Divinity among the Remonstrants, with whom he contracted a Friendship, which continued during the whole course of his Life, and which he cultivated after his return into *England*. I had the Honour also to be acquainted with him some time after, and have spent several Hours with pleasure and profit in his Company; especially after he told me his Mind in Philosophical Matters, which has been the Subject of many an hour's Conversation. Having his Health better in *Holland* than either in *England* or at *Montpelier*; he there carry'd on and compleated his *Essay concerning Human Understanding*, of which he shew'd me several Chapters in Manuscript.

Mr. *Locke* had not been a Year out of *England*, before he was accus'd at Court of writing several Pamphlets against the Government, which were said to come from *Holland*, but afterwards were found to be done by other Hands: For this reason, as was reported, the King sent Orders to Dr. *Fell*, then Bishop of *Oxford*, and Dean of *Christ-Church*, to turn Mr. *Locke* out of his Fellowship in that College. The Bishop, who was a Virtuous and Learned Man, and always had a Respect and Kindness for Mr. *Locke*, receiv'd the Message with a great deal of uneasiness, as may be seen by his Actions. He immediately sent for Mr. *Tyrrell*, Mr. *Locke*'s Friend, to speak with him; and was so convinc'd of Mr. *Locke*'s Innocence, that instead of executing the Order, he wrote to him the 8th of *November* to appear and answer for himself the 1st of *January* of the ensuing Year. In the mean time he acquainted my Lord *Sunderland*, then Secretary of State, with what he had done, in these Words: (from which we may learn much of Mr. *Locke*'s Character.) *Mr. Locke being a great Friend of the late Earl of Shaftesbury, and being suspected not to be well affected to the Government, I have had my Eye over him for several Years; but he has always been so much upon his guard, that after several strict Enquiries, I can confidently assure you, there is no Person in our College, how familiar soever he has been with him, that has heard him say any thing against the Government, or that any ways concerns it: and tho we have often designedly given him occasion in publick and private Discourse to talk of the Earl of Shaftesbury, by speaking ill of Him, his Party and Designs; yet we could never see, either by his Words or Looks, that he thought himself at all concern'd in the matter. So that we believe there is not a Man in the World so much Master of his Tongue and Passions as he is.*

This

This is the more to be admir'd, because Mr. *Locke* was naturally a little hafty. But perceiving their Designs to trapan him, he thought it most prudent to remain silent; easily foreseeing that to defend his Lordship before them could do him no Service, but might bring himself into Trouble.

Bishop *Fell*, in what he wrote, without doubt design'd to serve Mr. *Locke*; but the King sending a second Letter, he was forc'd to remove him from his Fellowship.

After the Death of King *Charles II.* (which was on the 6th of *February*, 1685) Mr. *Penn*, whom Mr. *Locke* had known at the University, and who very generously imploy'd the Interest he had in King *James*, endeavour'd to procure his Pardon; and had certainly obtain'd it, if Mr. *Locke* had not answer'd, That he had no occasion for a Pardon, having been guilty of no Crime.

In the Spring of the Year 1685, the Duke of *Monmouth* was in *Holland*, and several other Gentlemen and Nobles with him, disaffected to King *James's* Government, making preparations for his unfortunate Enterprize. King *James* being inform'd of their Designs, sent to Mr. *Skelton*, his Envoy at the *Hague*, the 17th of *May*, to demand of the *States* fourscore and four Persons; and amongst them Mr. *Locke*, whom they had thus describ'd, formerly Secretary to the Earl of *Shaftesbury*; altho he never had that Business or Title in his Lordship's House, but liv'd there as a Friend: His Name was the last in the List, and, as I remember, 'twas said he was not in the List that came from *England*; but that the *English Consul*, who was then in *Holland*, order'd it to be added to the rest. However, I believe one may rest satisfy'd that he had no Correspondence with the Duke of *Monmouth*, of whom he had not such high Thoughts as to expect any thing from his Undertaking; besides, he was of a peaceable Temper, and rather Timorous than Courageous.

About the end of the Year 1684, he was at *Utrecht*, and the next Spring went to *Amsterdam*, with design to return to *Utrecht*, as he did afterwards; not imagining he should be esteem'd an Accomplice of the Duke of *Monmouth*. He had formerly had a desire to lodg with Mr. *Guenelon*, but he excus'd himself, because it was not the Custom of their City to entertain Strangers; tho otherwise he had a great esteem for him, and was very well pleas'd with his Visits. But when Mr. *Guenelon* perceiv'd the Danger he was in, and that it was time to do him a Kindness; he generously engag'd his Father-in-Law, Mr. *Veen*, to entertain him in his House: and wrote to *Utrecht* to advertise him of it, as did Mr. *Limborch* on the part of Mr. *Veen*. Mr. *Locke* upon this came to *Amsterdam*, and conceal'd himself at Mr. *Veen's* two or three Months; and in the mean time Mr. *Limborch* convey'd the Letters that were wrote to him, and kept Mr. *Locke's Will*, which he desir'd might be sent to one of his Relations, whom he nam'd, if he should die. In the mean time they consulted one of the chief Magistrates of the Town, to know if he might be safe there; who reply'd, that he could not protect him if the King of *England* sent for him: but that he would not betray him, and if Inquiry was made, would not fail to give notice of it to Mr. *Veen*.

This did a little compose his Mind, and he staid with Mr. *Veen* till September, going abroad only in the Night-time, to prevent any Discovery: But being perswaded to go rather to *Cleves*, he went thither, but came back the beginning of November. 'Twas at Mr. *Veen's* that he wrote his Letter of Toleration, which was printed at *Tergow* in 1689, and entitled *Epistola de Tolerantia ad Clarissimum Virum, T. A. R. P. T. O. L. A. scripta; à P. A. P. O. I. L. A.* The first Letters signify, *Theologia apud Remonstrantes Professore*,

Tyrannidis osorem, Limburgium Amstelodamensem; and the latter, *Pacis amico, Persecutionis osore, Joanne Lockio Anglo*. This Letter was translated into *English*, and printed twice at *London* in the Year 1690. About this time it was also that Mr. *Locke* read and approv'd of several Pieces of *Episcopius*; (for till then he knew the Remonstrants only by hear-say, and a little Conversation he had with them here) and was surpriz'd to find their Sentiments nearer his own than he imagin'd; and afterwards made great use of the Light which he receiv'd from them.

At the end of the Year, Mr. *Locke* went to lodg at Mr. *Guenelon's*, where he was likewise the Year following.

It being evident to all that he had no hand in the Duke of *Monmouth's* enterprize; he began to appear again in Publick in the Year 1686, and then gave me a small Piece, intitl'd, *A new Method of making Common-Place Books*. He made likewise several Extracts of Books, as that Tract of Mr. *Boyle*, concerning *Specifick Medicines*, and some others. I sent him some Copies of his *Method to Utrecht* (whither he went in *Autumn*) which I had printed; and he order'd me to send some to Mr. *Toignard*, to whom it was Dedicated, tho his Name was not set before it.

At the end of the Year, Mr. *Locke* return'd to *Amsterdam*, and again re-sid'd at Mr. *Guenelon's*.

In 1687 he desir'd that Mr. *Limborch*, and I, with some other Friends, would set up Conferences; and that to this end, we should meet together once a Week, sometimes at one House, and then at another, by turns; and that there should be some Questions propos'd, of which every one should give his Opinion at the next meeting: and I have still by me the Rules, which he would have had us observe, written in *Latin* with his own Hand. But our Conferences were interrupted by his Absence; because he went to *Rotterdam*, where he lodg'd with Mr. *Furley*. He return'd again to *Amsterdam*, tho it was but for a little time.

Towards the latter end of this Year, he made an Abridgment of his *Essay concerning Human Understanding*, which was yet in Manuscript. I translated it into *French*, and publish'd it in the 8th Volume of the *Bibliothèque Universelle* in *January*, 1688. and I had some Copies of it printed singly, to which he prefix'd a short Dedication to the Earl of *Pembroke*. This Abridgment pleas'd a great many Persons, and made them desirous of seeing the Work at large; but several who had never heard of the Name of Mr. *Locke*, and had only seen the Abridgment, in the *Bibliothèque Universelle*, thought that it was the Project of a Work of mine, which was but yet design'd; and that I father'd it upon an *English* Man, to know what the World thought of it: but they were soon undeceiv'd.

At length the happy Revolution in 1688, by the Courage and good Conduct of the *Prince of Orange*, open'd a way to his Return into his own Country; whither he went in *February*, 1689, with the same Fleet that conducted over the *Princess of Orange*. When he came to *London*, he endeavour'd to recover his Fellowship of *Christ-Church* College in *Oxford*; not that he had any design of living there, but only that the World might see the wrong that was done him: This would have been granted him; but since the Members of that Society could not come to a Resolution of turning out the Person who was put in his Place, they would have kept him as a Supernumerary, but he withdrew his Suit.

Mr. *Locke* being very much taken notice of, and esteem'd by several Noblemen, who were after the Revolution in favour with the Court, he might very easily have obtain'd some considerable Post: But he contented himself with

with being one of the *Commissioners of Appeals*, which brought him in 200 *l. per Ann.* and this suited him, because it did not require a constant Attendance. This Place is at the disposal of the Lords of the Treasury; and the Lord *Mordant* being one of them, and who was since created Earl of *Monmouth*, and then of *Peterborough*, desiring it for him, the other Lords agreed to it. About the same time, Mr. *Locke* had the offer of a Publick Character; and it was put to his Choice, whether he would go as Envoy, either to the Emperor, to the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, or any other Court, where he thought the Air might best agree with his Constitution, which was very unsettled: but fearing lest the Service of the King might suffer, if the Air of the Place did not agree with him, or that it would endanger his Life unless he made a speedy Return, he refus'd an Employ of this nature.

However, he improv'd his time another way, for a Divine writing against his first Letter concerning Toleration, he answer'd him in 1690, by a second Letter. He did not put his Name to it, that he might not be engag'd in any personal Quarrels; which might possibly have turn'd to his disadvantage, without serving any ways to the advancement of Truth: but the stile of it plainly shew'd the Author. It was in the same Year likewise, that the first Edition of his *Essay concerning Human Understanding* was printed in *Folio*; in 1700, it was publish'd in *French* at *Amsterdam*, by *H. Schelte*. Mr. *Cofte*, who was then with Mr. *Locke*, translated it under his Inspection with very great Care, Fidelity and Plainness; and this Version is very much esteem'd: It hath made known his Opinions to those that are on this side the Water; and more at large, than the Abridgment that was publish'd in 1688, could do. He also corrected several places in the Original, that he might make them more plain and easy to translate, and very carefully revis'd the Translation; so that it is not in the least inferior to the *English*, and often more clear. It was likewise translated into *Latin*, by Mr. *Burridge*, in 1701. There is besides, an Abridgment of it in *English* by Mr. *Wynne*, in an 8^o Vol. The best Edition, is that now publish'd with his other Works, in three Vol. Fol. Those who have compar'd it with the former, may have observ'd in it that Sincerity and Love to Truth, which the Author discovers in the Twenty-first Chapter of the second Book, where he treats concerning *Power*; for he has made several alterations in the Idea that he had given of the manner wherein we are determin'd to *Will*. Few Philosophers can persuade themselves to correct their Thoughts; and there is nothing they will not do, rather than confess their mistakes. But Mr. *Locke* had too great a Love for Truth to follow their Example; and he himself acknowledges in his Preface, that after a more close Examination of the matter, he saw reason to alter his Opinion.

He publish'd likewise the same Year his Two Treatises of *Government*: this Book was afterwards translated into *French*, and printed at *Amsterdam*. Mr. *Locke* did not put his Name to it, because the Principles which he there establishes, are contrary to those which were generally taught in *England* before the Revolution, and which tended to establish an Arbitrary Power, that was not restrain'd by any Laws. He entirely overthrew these *Turkish* Politicks, which some Persons preach'd up as an Article of Religion, to flatter those that aspir'd to a Power which is above Human Nature.

Mr. *Locke* liv'd at *London* about two Years after the Revolution, esteem'd by all those who knew him: He convers'd familiarly with Persons of the highest Rank; but nothing pleas'd him more than the weekly Conferences he had with the Earl of *Pembroke*, who was then Lord-Keeper of the Privy-Seal, and who has since been made President of the Privy-Council; which

Post

Post he long held with general Approbation. When the Air of *London* began to affect his Lungs, he went for some days to the Earl of *Peterborough's* Seat near *Fulham*, where he always met with a hearty Welcome: but he was oblig'd afterwards to think of quite leaving *London*, at least all the Winter-Season, and to go to some place at a greater distance.

He had made some Visits at different times to Sir *Francis Masbam*, who liv'd at *Oates* in *Essex*, about twenty Miles from *London*; where he found the Air so good, that he thought there was none could suit better with his Constitution. Besides, the agreeable Company he found at Sir *Francis Masbam's*, which would make the most melancholy Place delightful, was one great Motive, no doubt, which inclin'd him to desire that Gentleman to receive him into his Family, that he might settle there during his Life, and apply himself to his Studies as much as his weak Health would allow. He was receiv'd on his own Terms, that he might have his entire Liberty there, and look upon himself as at his own House: And it was in this pleasant Society that he pass'd the rest of his Life, and from which he was absent as little as possible, because the Air of *London* grew more and more troublesome to him. He came thither only in the Summer for three or four Months, and if he return'd to *Oates* any thing indispos'd, the Air of that Country soon recover'd him.

In 1692, he publish'd his *Third Letter of Toleration*; in which he answer'd some new Objections that had been made against his Opinions, with so great Strength and Accuracy, as made it needless for him to write any thing farther on that Subject. And here I can't but take notice of the strange and unaccountable Temper of some Men, who tho they are fully convinc'd that their clear and distinct Knowledg is of a very small extent, and that they are very easily mistaken in the Judgments they pass of things; will yet, when it is in their power, persecute others because they differ from them in their Notions; and this at the same time that they would think it very hard, if they were on the weaker side, to be persecuted on this account themselves. But it is yet more strange, that they should interest Religion in the Case, and employ its Authority to defend those Practices which it expressly forbids. This can only proceed from a Proud and Tyrannical Spirit, which passes upon the World under the disguise of Piety, almost after the same manner as the Itch after Arbitrary Power conceals it self under the specious Pretext of the Publick Good, how contrary soever it may be to it.

But this is no proper place to bewail these Irregularities of the Mind of Man. The *English* Nation however is highly oblig'd to Mr. *Locke*, for having undeceiv'd a great many Persons, and made them detest those persecuting Maxims, which for want of due Consideration they had embrac'd. 'Tis well known, that about this time the Coin of *England* was very bad, having been so much clipp'd thro the Negligence of the preceding Reigns, who had not taken care to remedy it, that it wanted above a Third of its due Weight. The Effect of this was, that the People thought themselves a great deal richer than indeed they were: For altho the Coin was not rais'd in its Value by any Publick Authority, it was put off in Trade for above a third part more than it weigh'd. This was very prejudicial to Trade on several accounts, of which I shall not here take any notice.

Mr. *Locke* had observ'd this Disorder ever since his Return to *England*; and he frequently spoke of it, that he might put the Nation upon taking
some

some Measures to prevent it. He said then, *That the Nation was in greater danger from a secret un-observ'd Abuse, than from all those other Evils, of which Persons were generally so apprehensive: and that if care were not taken to rectify the Coin, that Irregularity alone would prove fatal to us, tho we should succeed in every thing else.* One day, when he seem'd very much disturb'd about this matter, some Persons rally'd him, as if he tormented himself with a groundless Fear: He answer'd, *That Persons might laugh if they pleased, but they would find in a very short time, that if care was not taken, we should want Money in England to buy Bread.* And it happen'd accordingly in 1695. so that the Parliament was forc'd to rectify that Abuse, the beginning of the Year following. In order to stir up the *English* Nation to take this Matter into Consideration, Mr. Locke publish'd in 1692, a little Treatise, intitled, *Some Considerations of the Consequences of the Lowering of the Interest, and Raising the Value of Money*; which was sent to a Member of Parliament, 1691. In which we may find several Nice and Curious Observations on both those Subjects, as well as the Trade of *England* in general. Afterwards, in 1695, he resum'd this Subject again; when, according to his Prediction, the Nation's Danger oblig'd the Parliament to think seriously of this matter. By this it appears, that he was able to reason on the common Affairs of Life, as well as on the most abstracted Subjects; and that he was none of those Philosophers, who spent their whole Lives in the Search after Truths purely speculative; but by their Ignorance of those things which concern the Publick Good, are render'd incapable of serving their Country.

In 1693, he publish'd his *Thoughts concerning the Education of Children*, (which he considerably improv'd in some later Editions; the last is the 7th, printed in Twelves, 1712.) This Book was also translated into *French* and *Dutch* in *Holland*: and altho there are many things in it that respect the Faults peculiar to the *English* way of Educating Children, yet it contains several Remarks that may be useful to other Nations.

In 1695, Mr. Locke was made a *Commissioner of Trade and Plantations*. These Commissioners compose a Council, who take care of every thing relating to the *English* Trade and Plantations, and have each of them a Salary of a Thousand Pounds a Year. He discharg'd the Duties of this Place with a great deal of Care, and universal Approbation, till the Year 1700. when he quitted it, being no longer able to live in *London*, as he did before. He acquainted no Person with his Design of leaving that Place, till he had given up his Commission into the King's hands. His Majesty was very unwilling to receive it, and told Mr. Locke he should be very glad if he would continue in his Service, tho he gave never so little Attendance; and that he did not desire him to stay in Town one day to the prejudice of his Health. But he told his Majesty, that he could not in Conscience hold a Place to which a considerable Salary was annex'd, without performing the Duties of it; and that he therefore humbly desir'd a Discharge. A great many Persons would not have been' so scrupulous in this matter as he was, but would have accepted the King's Grant, or at least would have endeavour'd to resign such a Place as this to their advantage.

And indeed he deserv'd to enjoy the Salary belonging to that Place, even tho he should have perform'd none of its Duties; if it were only on the account of being one of those, who took the greatest pains to convince the Parliament, that the only way to preserve the Trade of *England*, was to recoin the Money, without raising its Value to the Publick Loss. For this end, he wrote a little Treatise, intitled, *New Considerations on the raising*

the Value of Money; which he publish'd in 1695. This Treatise, together with several others, were reprinted the Year after, with the Title of *Papers concerning Money, Interest, and Trade*. The Parliament following his Opinion in this matter, in the midst of a dangerous War made such a Reformation in the Coin, as many Nations would have hardly undertaken in a time of Peace. 'Tis well known, that there are some Kingdoms, wherein, to fill the Princes Treasury out of the Pockets of private Persons, the Money is made to rise or fall without any regard to the Loss the Publick sustains thereby: but such Maxims are not approv'd of in England.

The Ingenious Mr. J. WATTS compos'd the following Lines upon this Occasion.

To JOHN LOCKE Esq; Retir'd from Business.

I.

ANGELS are made of Heavenly Things,
And Light and Love our Souls compose;
Their Bliss within their Bosom springs,
Within their Bosom flows.

But narrow Minds still make pretence
To search the Coasts of Flesh and Sense,
And fetch Diviner Pleasures thence.
MEN are akin to Etherial Forms,
But they belye their nobler Birth,
Debase their Honour down to Earth,
And claim a share with Worms.

II.

He that has Treasures of his own,
May leave the Cottage or the Throne,
May quit the Globe, and dwell alone
Within his Spacious Mind.

LOCKE hath a Soul wide as the Sea,
Calm as the Night, bright as the Day;
There may his vast Ideas play,
Nor feel a Thought confin'd.

In the same Year, 1695, Mr. Locke publish'd his Treatise of *The Reasonableness of Christianity*: wherein he has prov'd, that the Christian Religion, as deliver'd in the Scriptures, is the most reasonable Institution in the world. It was quickly after translated into French and

* Dr. Edwards. Dutch, and attack'd in England by a passionate * Divine. In 1696, Mr. Locke answer'd that Book, and after defended his Answer with such Strength of Reason, and yet with so great Moderation, that he might justly have expected from his Adversary a publick Acknowledgment of his Error, had he not been one of those sort of Men, who are equally strangers to Shame and Justice. Mr. Locke was also oblig'd to Mr. Bold, Minister of Steeple in Dorsetshire, who defended his Book without knowing the Author, in two short Discourses which came out in 1697. as also in a Second Answer.

Some time before this, there came out a Book, written by Mr. Toland, intitl'd, *Christianity not Mystrious*; in which the Author pretended to prove, That there is nothing in the Christian Religion, not only which is contrary to Reason, but even which is above it. Mr. Toland, in explaining the Nature of Reason,

Reason, had made use of several Arguments that were very like some of Mr. Locke's, in his Treatise of *Human Understanding*.

It happen'd also, that some *English Unitarians* had about that time publish'd several Pamphlets, in which they talk'd very much about Reason, and laid down their Notions of what was contrary to it, and affirm'd there was no such Doctrine in the Christian Religion. Mr. Locke had also with a great deal of Truth asserted, that Revelation delivers nothing contrary to any plain Consequences of Reason. All these things put together, engag'd Dr. *Stillingfleet*, late Bishop of *Worcester*, to join Mr. Locke in company with those Persons, in a Treatise he publish'd in 1697; wherein he defended the Doctrine of the Trinity against them. In this Book, Chap. 10. he oppos'd some Notions of Mr. Locke concerning the Knowledge we have of Substances, and some other Things; fearing, without Reason, that those Notions might be brought in favour of some Heretical Opinions. Mr. Locke answer'd him, and the Bishop reply'd the same Year. This Reply was confuted by a second Letter of Mr. Locke; which drew a second Answer from that Learned Bishop in 1698. and Mr. Locke again reply'd, in a third Letter in 1699, wherein he discoursed more at large of the *Certainty by Reason or by Ideas, of the Certainty of Faith, of the Resurrection of the same Body, and the Immateriality of the Soul*; and show'd the perfect Agreement of his Principles with Faith, that they had not the least tendency to Scepticism, as Bishop *Stillingfleet* had affirm'd. But the Bishop died some time after this, and so the Dispute ended.

We may observe two Things more especially in this Controversy; the one relating to the Subject of it, the other to the Manner wherein it was handled. Every body admir'd the Strength of Mr. Locke's Reasonings, and his great Clearness and Exactness, not only in explaining his own Notions, but in laying open those of his Adversary: Nor were they less surpriz'd, that a Man of the Bishop's Learning should engage in a Controversy, wherein he had all the Disadvantages possible; for he was by no means able to maintain his Opinions against Mr. Locke, whose Notions he neither understood, nor the Thing itself about which he disputed. This Eminent Prelate had spent the greatest part of his time in the Study of Ecclesiastical Antiquities, and reading an infinite number of Books, but was no great Philosopher; nor had ever us'd himself to that close correct way of Thinking and Writing, in which Mr. Locke did particularly excel. However, this excellent Philosopher, tho he had much the better in the Controversy, and had reason enough to complain of the Bishop for having charg'd him unjustly, and without a sufficient knowledge of the Subject he handled; was yet very far from abusing the Advantages he had, but always detected and refuted his Errors with Civility and Respect. He shews, 'tis true, that the Bishop did not understand the Things he talk'd about, and was very uncorrect in his Expressions; but rather seems to insinuate it, by producing his own Words, and leaving the World to judg, than reflect on him for it. For my part, I confess, I never read a Dispute manag'd in so cool Blood, or with so much Art and Exactness, on the one side; nor, on the other, so unjustly, confusedly, or so little to the Credit of the Author.

I was also surpriz'd at the Bishop's Censure of *Curcellus*, in the 6th Chapter of his *Defence of the Trinity*; and wonder'd, how he could think so easily to answer him. I must confess indeed, that the Bishop has Reason, in asserting that St. *Hilary*, in the * Passage *Curcellus* cites out of his Book, *de Synodis*, does speak to the Eastern Bishops, and not to those of *Gaul* and *Germany*, as he thought. But then it

* Num. 81.
Edit. Benedict.

must

must also be granted, that in the main *Curcellæus* has, in his Dissertation concerning the Words *Trinity*, &c. very faithfully represented the Opinion of *St. Hilary*. Bishop *Stillingsfleet* had either read this Book without due Attention, or forgot its Contents; for of all other Books this most clearly proves, that the Orthodox of that time believ'd, that the Divine Nature, as a Species, did contain under it three Persons numerically distinguish'd.

St. Hilary, a little before the * Passage that gave Bishop *Stillingsfleet* occasion to charge *Curcellæus* with a gross Mistake, explains how according to the *Semi-Arians* it might be said, That the Father and Son have a like Essence: And then delivers his own Opinion in the following words; "*Caret igitur, Fratres, similitudo Naturæ contumelia suspicione; nec potest videri Filius idcirco in proprietate Paternæ Naturæ*

* Num. 76.
Ejusd. Edit.
† By Personæ
we must understand a substance, and not a Mode, which is called Personality.

"*non esse quia similis est, cum similitudo nulla sit nisi ex æqualitate Naturæ: æqualitas autem Naturæ non potest esse, nisi una sit; una verò non † Personæ Unitate, sed GNERIS.*" That is, Therefore, Brethren, the Son may, without danger of Blasphemy, be said to be of a like Nature with the Father; and tho he be said to be like him, it does not follow that therefore he is not of the same Nature, for Similitude flows from Equality of Nature: now there can be no Equality of Nature, but where the Nature is one; and that not with a Personal, but Generical Unity. Now a Person who reads this with any tolerable degree of Attention, will easily see, that supposing the Unity of the Divine Nature to be Numerical, 'tis nonsense to say the Nature of the Son is equal or like to that of the Father; but that this way of Expression is proper enough in the Mouth of those Persons who believe the Father and the Son are one in Specie, or Generically, as *St. Hilary* speaks. See also the 15th Article in the *Benedictine* Edition. The same thing might be plainly proved out of his Books of the *Trinity*: If Bishop *Stillingsfleet* had examin'd *St. Hilary* only carefully, and without prejudice, he would have been of the same mind with *Curcellæus*, and would never have differ'd with him about a trifling Incident, while, in the main of the Controversy, he gives a very true Account of the Doctrine of the Fathers in this Point. I shall say no more on this Head, and I hope no Person will be offended at this little Digression I have made, to defend at once the Truth and Honour of *Curcellæus*, against the Learned Bishop *Stillingsfleet*, for whose excellent Writings I have nevertheless a very high esteem.

But to return to *Mr. Locke*; 'tis very strange he should be able to write so much at so great an Age, and when his Health was so infirm, by reason of the Indisposition of his Lungs. In 1697, he was oblig'd to go to *London* in very cold Weather, because the King desir'd to see him; and that Journey made his Lungs much worse than ever they had been before: He was

|| A Difficulty of Breathing, when a Man can't fetch his Breath, but by holding his Neck upright.

so bad, that for three or four Days, while he was in *London*, he could not lie down; and I remember, that in a Letter I receiv'd from him, he told me he was reduc'd to a perfect || *Orthopnea*.

He return'd to *Oates* in so weak a Condition, that he never recover'd his former Health. He said, that his Majesty (who was also Asthmatick) having heard of his Skill in Physick, desir'd to discourse with him about his own Indisposition. And I remember I heard, a little while after, that *Mr. Locke* had advis'd the King to abstain from Wine, and all Foods that were heavy and clogging. But however, the King kept to his usual manner of Living, tho he signify'd to some of those who were near his Person, that he had a high esteem for *Mr. Locke*.

Some Years before his Death, he apply'd himself entirely to the Study of the Holy Scriptures; and found so much Pleasure therein, that he was very much troubled he had not sooner apply'd his Mind to that Study: The World has seen the Fruits of these Labours in his *Reasonableness of Christianity*, of which we have already spoken, and which is one of the best Pieces that has been publish'd this many Years on that Subject, and with that Design.

Above a Year before his Death he grew so very weak that he could not apply himself closely to any thing, nor so much as write a Letter to a Friend without great difficulty. Before, he had always made use of his own Hand for whatever he had to write; and so having not us'd to dictate, he could not employ an *Amanuensis* to ease himself: But tho his Body grew weaker, he still kept his Good-Humour; and if his Lungs would have permitted him to speak, his Conversation would have been as pleasant and entertaining as ever. A few Weeks before his Death he perceiv'd he should not live long, but yet he continu'd as Chearful and Pleasant as before; and when some Persons seem'd to wonder at it, he would say, *While we are Alive let us Live.*

The Study of the Holy Scriptures wrought in him a lively and sincere, tho unaffected Piety: Having not been able to go to Church for a considerable time, he thought convenient some Months before he died to receive the Blessed Sacrament at home, according to a usual Practice of the Church of *England*; and two of his Friends communicated with him. When the Minister had perform'd his Office, Mr. Locke told him, *That he was in perfect Charity with all Men, and in a sincere Communion with the Church of Christ, by what Name soever it might be distinguished.* He was a Man of too great Understanding to take the Sacrament as a Test of Schism or Party, which a great many ignorant Persons do; who, by Communicating with their own Church, condemn all other Christian Societies. He had a deep Sense of the Divine Wisdom, that discovers itself in those methods God has taken in saving Men; and when he discours'd about it, he could not forbear joining with the Apostle in the Exclamation, *Oh the Depths of the Riches and Wisdom of God!* And he was perswaded that all Persons would be of the same mind, who should read the Scriptures without Prejudice; and this Study he very frequently commended to those with whom he conversed towards the latter end of his Life. This Application to these Holy Writings had given him a more noble and compleat Idea of the Christian Religion than he had before; and if he had enjoy'd Strength enough to have begun any New Works, 'tis very likely he would have compos'd some on purpose to have impress'd this Great and Sublime Idea on the Minds of others in its full Extent.

Upon this Occasion Mr. *Watts* wrote a Copy of Verses to *John Shute Esq;* a young Gentleman for whom Mr. *Locke* entertain'd a particular Esteem.

TO JOHN SHUTE *Esq;* On Mr. LOCKE's Dangerous Sicknefs, some time after he had retir'd to study the Scriptures.

I.

AND must the Man of wond'rous Mind,
(Now his Rich Thoughts are just refin'd)
Forsake our longing Eyes?
Reason at length submits to wear
The Wings of Faith, and lo! they rear
Her Chariot high, and nobly bear
Her Prophet to the Skies.

F

II. Go

II.

*Go, Friend, and wait the Prophet's Flight,
Watch if his Mantle chance to light,
And seize it for thy own.*

*SHUTE is the Darling of his Tears,
Young SHUTE his better Likeness bears,
All but his Wrinkles and his Hairs
Are copy'd in his Son.*

III.

*Thus when our Follies or our Faults
Call for the Pity of thy Thoughts,
Thy Pen shall make us Wise.*

*The Sallies of whose Youthful Wit
Could pierce the British Fogs with Light,
Place our true Interest in our Sight,
And open half our Eyes.*

For some Weeks before his Death he could not walk, but was carry'd about the House in an armed Chair. My Lady *Masbam* going to see him on the 27th of *October*, 1704, and not finding him in his Study where he us'd to be, but in Bed, seem'd to wonder at that Alteration: he told her he could not bear the Fatigue of rising, having weary'd himself too much with it the Day before, and that he did not know whether he should ever rise again. He could not eat that day; and after Dinner some Persons who kept him Company went into his Chamber, and ask'd him if they should read something to divert him, but he refused it. However, some Papers being brought into his Chamber, he enquir'd what they were: after they were read, he said, *That his Work here was almost at an end, and he thank'd God for it.* Thereupon somebody coming near his Bed, he desir'd they would remember him in the Evening-Prayers. They told him, that if he pleas'd, the Family would come to Prayers into his Chamber; to which he agreed. They ask'd him if he thought he was near Death; he answer'd, *That he might perhaps die that Night, but that he could not live above three or four Days.* He was then in a cold Sweat, but that left him in a little time. He was ask'd to drink some Mum, a Liquor which he had drank with pleasure the Week before, and which, as I have heard him say, he look'd upon to be the most wholesome of all strong Drinks: he took some Spoonfuls then, and drank to the Health of the Company, *Wishing all of them Happiness when he should be gone.* Afterwards, there being nobody else in the Chamber but my Lady *Masbam*, who sat by the Bed-side, he exhorted her to look on this World only as a State of Preparation for a better: he added, *That he had lived long enough, and that he thank'd God he had enjoy'd an happy Life; but that, after all, he look'd upon this Life to be nothing but Vanity.* After Supper, the Family came up into his Chamber to Prayers; and between Eleven and Twelve a Clock he seem'd to be a little better. My Lady *Masbam* would have watch'd with him, but he would not permit her; saying, *That perhaps he might sleep; and that if he should find any Alteration, he would send for her.* He did not rest that Night, but resolv'd to try to rise the next Day, which he did. He was carry'd into his Study, and was set in an easy Chair, where he slept, by fits, some considerable time. Then thinking himself somewhat better, he had a mind to be dress'd as usual, and ask'd for some Small-Beer, which he us'd very seldom to taste. After that, he desir'd my Lady *Masbam*, who was reading to herself in the

the *Psalms* while they dress'd him, to read aloud, which accordingly she did; and he seem'd very attentive, till he was hinder'd by the nearer approaches of Death: upon which, he desir'd her to read no more, and expir'd a few Minutes after, on the 28th of *October*, 1704, about Three in the Afternoon, in the 73d Year of his Age.

He was privately buried at *High-Laver*, in the County of *Essex*, according to his own modest Desire; as appears by the following Clause in his Will, *viz.*

"Item, My Will is, To be buried as privately, as with Decency may be: particularly my Will is, To be buried in a plain Wooden Coffin, not cover'd with Cloth, or any otherwife adorn'd; *That Cost will better be laid out in covering the Poor*: and therefore my Will is, That instead thereof, four poor honest Labouring Men of the Neighbourhood shall each of them have a Coat and Pair of Breeches of Cloth; a Hat, Shoes, and Pair of Stockings: *Which will be better than the vain Waste of a Covering or Ornaments on my Coffin.* Item, My Will is, To be buried in the Church-Yard of the Parish where I die."

He bequeath'd in his Will several considerable Sums of Money, to be dispos'd of in Charitable Uses, left Legacies to most of his Friends, made a Present of all his Works to the *Bodleian Library* at *Oxford*, gave many valuable Books to *Anthony Collins*, of the *Inner Temple*, *Esq;* and others; order'd the Remainder of his Library to be equally divided between Mr. *Francis Cudworth Masbam*, and his Cousin Sir *Peter King*, whom he constituted his sole Executor.

Thus died one of the greatest Philosophers of our Age, who, after he had made himself a perfect Master of almost all the Parts of Philosophy, and discover'd its greatest Secrets with uncommon Strength of Reason, and Correctness of Thought, happily turn'd his Studies to the Christian Religion, which he examin'd in its Original, with the same Liberty he had us'd in his Study of other Sciences; and which he judg'd so reasonable and excellent an Institution, that he dedicated the Remainder of his Life to the Contemplation of it, and endeavour'd to raise in the Minds of others the same high Veneration he had for it himself. And as he did not chuse a Religious Course of Life in a Fit of Discontent or Ill-Humour, so his Piety was neither tainted with Melancholy nor Superstition. The same Light that guided him in his Philosophical Studies, directed him in explaining the *New Testament*, and kindled in his Soul a Rational Piety, such as was worthy of him who gave us our Reason for no other end, but that by which we might be assist'd to make a good Use of Revelation; and who by revealing his Will, supposes we will imploy the Judgment and Understanding he has given us, in acknowledging, admiring, and following it.

'Tis needless for me here to attempt a Panegyrick on Mr. *Locke*; his Works, which are read in several Languages, are a sufficient, and will be an eternal Monument of his vast Genius, penetrating Wit, and exact Judgment. I shall only insert a Character of him, which I receiv'd from a Lady of Distinction, to whom he was perfectly well known.

"Mr. *Locke*, said she, (and I can bear witness to her Evidence, in a great measure, by what I have seen myself in *Holland*) was a great Philosopher, and a fit Person to be employ'd in Affairs of the highest Importance. He understood the Politer Parts of Learning perfectly well, and was very genteel and engaging in his Conversation. He knew somewhat of all those things that are of real Use to Mankind, and was a perfect Master of what he had particularly studied. But yet he was not puff'd up by all this, nor ever seem'd to have a better Opinion of himself

“ himself because of his Knowledg. No one was farther from assuming
 “ a Magisterial Air, or less positive in his Assertions; and he was not in
 “ the least offended with those that did not assent to his Opinions. But
 “ he cou’d not bear with a sort of Cavillers, who will not drop the Dis-
 “ pute, tho they have been often refuted, and can only repeat the same
 “ Things. He spake to such Persons sometimes with a little Heat, but
 “ he himself wou’d first take Notice of his being any ways moved.

“ In the most considerable Affairs of Life, as well as in Matters of Specu-
 “ lation, he was always ready to hear Reason, from whomsoever it came.
 “ He was indeed the faithful Servant, nay, I may say, the devoted Slave
 “ of Truth; which he lov’d for itself, and which no Consideration was
 “ ever able to make him desert.

“ He suted his Discourse to the meanest Capacities; and in disputing
 “ with such Persons, he gave their Objections against him the utmost
 “ Weight, not taking advantage of his Adversaries, if they had not ex-
 “ press’d themselves so correctly as they ought. He convers’d very free-
 “ ly and willingly with all sorts of Persons, endeavouring to learn some-
 “ thing from them: And this proceeded not only from his genteel Edu-
 “ cation, but from his profess’d Opinion, that some good Thing or other
 “ might be learn’d from any Person whatsoever. And by this means
 “ he had attain’d to such a considerable Knowledg of several particular
 “ Arts and Sciences, that one would have thought he had made the
 “ Study of those things a great part of his Business. For even Trades-
 “ men would ask his Advice, and were frequently instructed by him,
 “ in things relating to their several Employments.

“ If there was any thing that he cou’d not bear, ’twas ill Manners;
 “ which was indeed very ungrateful to him, when he perceiv’d it did
 “ not arise from want of Conversation, and Knowledg of the World, but
 “ from Pride, Ill-nature, Brutality, and other Vices of that nature.
 “ Otherwise he was very far from despising any one, though their Persons
 “ were ever so mean. He look’d on Civility to be not only something
 “ very agreeable and proper to win upon Men, but also a Duty of

* *Tis printed
 among the Es-
 sais de Morale.
 de Port-Royal.*

“ Christianity, and which ought to be more pressed, and urged
 “ upon Men, than it commonly is. He recommended on this
 “ Occasion a * Treatise written by the Gentlemen of the Port-
 “ Royal, *Concerning the Means to preserve Peace among Men*; and
 “ he very much admir’d some Sermons he heard from Dr. *Whitchcot* on
 “ this Subject, and which are now printed.

“ His Conversation was very agreeable to all sorts of People, even to
 “ the Ladies themselves; and no Person was more civilly entertain’d than
 “ he by Persons of the highest Quality. For if he had not naturally those
 “ Qualifications that render the Conversation of genteel and accomplish’d
 “ Persons more easy, free, and less formal, than that of other Persons; yet
 “ he had acquired them by his Acquaintance with the World. And this
 “ recommended him so much the more, because Persons who knew him
 “ not, did not expect that Politeness in a Man so much given to Study as
 “ he was. Those who were desirous of his Conversation, to gain those
 “ things that might be expected in a Man of his Learning, and according-
 “ ly address’d him with great Respect, were surpriz’d to find in him
 “ not only the Civility of a well-educated Person, but even all the Po-
 “ liteness that could be desir’d.

“ He spake very often against Raillery, which indeed is the nicest Point
 “ in Conversation, and of dangerous consequence, if not prudently ma-
 “ nag’d. And yet no Person railly’d with a better Grace than he: but he
 always

“ always took care to say nothing offensive or prejudicial to any Man. He knew how to give a pleasant and agreeable turn to every thing he said. If he railly’d his Friends, it was either for some inconsiderable Faults, or something which ’twas for their benefit to make known. He was so extraordinary Civil, that when he seem’d dispos’d to be Merry, the Company was sure he was about to say something to their *Advantage*. He never ridicul’d the Natural Infirmities or Misfortunes of any Person.

“ He was very Charitable to the Poor, except such as were Idle or Prophanes, and spent the *Sunday* in the *Ale-houses*, and went not to Church. But above all, he did compassionate those, who, after they had labour’d as long as their Strength wou’d hold, were reduc’d to Poverty. He said it was not enough to keep them from starving, but that such a Provision ought to be made for them, that they might live comfortably. Accordingly, he sought occasions of doing Good to those who deserv’d it; and often, when he walk’d out, he wou’d visit the Poor of the Neighbourhood, and give them somewhat to supply their Necessities, or buy the Remedies which he prescrib’d them, if they were sick, and had no other Physician. He wou’d not let any useful Thing be lost or wasted: He thought that was to destroy those good Things, of which God has made us only Stewards. Accordingly he kept good Orders, and took an account of every Thing.

“ If he was subject to any Passion, it was Anger; but he had made himself so much Master of it by Reason, that it was very rarely troublesome to himself or others. No one could better expose that Passion, or make it appear more ridiculous than he. He would say it was of no use, either in the educating Children, or keeping Servants in order; but that it did indeed make a Man lose his Authority. He was very kind to his Servants, and would take the trouble to instruct them with a great deal of Mildness in what manner he expected to be served by them.

“ He not only faithfully kept a Secret that had been trusted with him, but would never report any thing that might prejudice the Person from whom he heard it, tho his Silence had not been desir’d: Nor did he ever bring his Friends into any Inconvenience thro his Inadvertency, or want of Discretion.

“ He was very exact to his Word, and religiously perform’d whatever he promis’d. He was very scrupulous of giving Recommendations of Persons whom he did not well know; and would by no means commend those he thought did not deserve it. If he was told that his Recommendations had not produc’d the Effect expected, he would say, *The Reason of that was, because he had never deceived any Person, by saying more than he knew; that he never pass’d his Word for any, but such as he believ’d would answer the Character he gave of them; and that if he should do otherwise, his Recommendations would be worth nothing.*

“ His greatest Diversion was to discourse with sensible Persons, of whose Conversation he was very desirous. He had all the good Qualities that could render his Friendship pleasant and agreeable. He would never game, but out of Complaisance; altho being often in Company with those who used it, he could play very well if he set about it: but he would never propose it, for he said it was but an Amusement for those who wanted Conversation.

“ His Dress was Neat, without either Affectation or Singularity.

“ He was naturally very Active, and employ’d himself as much as his Health would permit. Sometimes he diverted himself with working in the Garden, which he very well understood. He loved walking, but

“ not being able to walk much, thro the disorder of his Lungs, he used
 “ to ride out after Dinner; and when he could not bear an Horfe, in a
 “ Calash. He always chose to have Company with him, tho it were
 “ but a Child; for he took Pleasure in talking with Children of a good
 “ Education.

“ The Weakness of his Health was a disturbance to none but himself;
 “ and one might look on him without any other Concern than that of
 “ seeing him suffer. He did not differ from others in his Diet, but only
 “ in that his ordinary Drink was nothing but Water; and he thought that
 “ was the Means of lengthening out his Life to such an Age. Tho he was
 “ of so weak a Constitution, and that it was to this he owed the Preser-
 “ vation of his Eye-sight, which was but little impair’d when he died;
 “ for he could read by Candle-light all sorts of Books, if they were not of
 “ a very small print; and he never us’d Spectacles: He had no other Dis-
 “ temper but his *Asthma*, excepting that four Years before his Death he
 “ was very deaf; but it did not last above six Months: His Deafness de-
 “ priving him of the Pleasure of Conversation, in a Letter which he then
 “ wrote to one of his Friends, he said, *He did not know but it was better to be*
 “ *Blind than Deaf*. Otherwise he bore up under his Afflictions very patiently.”

This is a Picture of that Great Man, drawn after the Life, and wherein he is not at all flatter’d: I wish it were in my Power, not only to make his Memory, but his Genius Immortal; by persuading all Students to search after Truth, and to love and defend it, as he has done: But the reading of his Works will effect that better than all the Praises I can give him, or all the Arguments I can lay before them.

He left several Manuscripts behind him, some of which were soon publish’d after his Death.

And first, In 1705, came out in *Quarto*, his Paraphrase and Notes upon St. Paul’s Epistle to the *Galatians*; which was soon followed by those upon the *Corinthians*, *Romans*, and *Ephesians*: upon the Publication of these, Mr. Watts likewise wrote the following Lines.

On Mr. LOCKE’S Annotations upon several Parts of the
 New Testament.

I.

THUS Reason learns by slow Degrees
 What Faith reveals; but still complains
 Of intellectual Pains,
 And Darknes, from the too Exuberant Light.
 The Blaze of those bright Mysteries
 Pour’d all at once on Nature’s Eyes,
 Offend and cloud her feeble Sight.

II.

Reason could scarce sustain to see
 Th’ Almighty One, th’ Eternal Three,
 Or bear the Infant Deity;
 Scarce could her Pride descend to own
 Her Maker stooping from his Throne,
 And drest in Glories so unknown:
 A ransom’d World, a bleeding God,
 And Heaven appeas’d with flowing Blood,
 Were Themes too painful to be understood.

III. Faith,

III.

Faith, thou bright Cherub, speak and say,
 Did ever Mind of Mortal Race
 Cost thee more Toil or larger Grace
 To melt and bend it to obey?
 'Twas hard to make so rich a Soul submit,
 And lay her shining Honours at thy sovereign Feet.

IV.

Sister of Faith, Fair Charity,
 Shew me the wondrous MAN on High;
 Tell how HE sees the Godhead Three in One;
 The bright Conviction fills his Eye,
 His noblest Pow'rs in deep Prostration lie
 At the Mysterious Throne.

"Forgive, he cries, * ye Saints below,
 "The wav'ring and the cold Assent
 "I gave to Themes divinely True;
 "Can you admit the Blessed to repent?
 "Eternal Darkness veil the Lines
 "Of that unhappy Book,
 "Where feeble Reason with false Lustre shines,
 "Where the mere Mortal Pen mistook
 "What the Celestial meant!"

* See Mr. Locke's Annotations on Rom. 3. 25. and Paraphrase on Rom. 9. 5. which has inclin'd some Readers to doubt whether he was fully persuaded of the Deity and Satisfaction of Christ.

In 1706, were publish'd, in an Octavo Volume, some Posthumous Pieces, which, the Editor informs us, "*Are True and Genuine Remains of the Deceas'd Author; but for the greatest part receiv'd not his last Hand, being in a great measure little more than sudden Views, intended to be afterwards revis'd, and farther look'd into: but by Sickness, Intervention of Business, or preferable Enquiries, happen'd to be thrust aside, and so lay neglected.*"

At the end of one of these Posthumous Tracts, viz. *The Discourse of Miracles*, Mr. Locke added a remarkable Note, which is as follows: "*These Thoughts concerning Miracles (says he) were occasion'd by reading Mr. Fleetwood's * Essay on Miracles, and the Letter † writ to him on that Subject: The one of them defining a Miracle to be an extraordinary Operation performable by God alone, and the other writing of Miracles without any Definition of a Miracle at all.*"

* Now Lord Bishop of St. Asaph.

† That Letter is said to be written by Mr. Hoadly.

In 1708, was printed in 8vo, *Some familiar Letters between Mr. Locke and several of his Friends.*

In 1709, his Paraphrase and Notes upon St. Paul's Epistles were collected into one Volume; to which was prefixed, *An Essay for the understanding of St. Paul's Epistles, by consulting St. Paul himself.*

I shall close all with the following Judicious Character, given of him by Mr. Lawton.

"The Name of Mr. LOCKE will last as long as our present Language is understood, or *Englishmen* have a Relish for good Sense. His Literature was Universal, his Notions Useful, and his Observations Critical and Just. He knew how to write Controversy, and differ in Conversation, with equal Strength and Manners; he was as much a Master of them, as if he had been always immur'd among Books; and yet had so decent and winning a Behaviour, that no Courts could have added to the Complaisance of his Temper. How much he could improve our
 "Under-

28 *The LIFE of JOHN LOCKE Esq;*

“ Understandings, may be found by those who read what he wrote with
 “ that intent: But this Nation can scarce pay Regard enough to his
 “ Memory, for his making several, who were so much in the wrong, judg
 “ rightly of Toleration and Recoinage. What he hath written about Trade,
 “ bespoke him adequate to the Commission he once had, and conscien-
 “ tiously laid down, because his infirm Body would not admit of his at-
 “ tending upon it. Indeed, upon whatever Occasion he employ’d his Pen,
 “ he wrote in a Masterly Strain, shew’d Compass of Thought; and the
 “ utmost Penetration, besides a Perspicuity scarce to be met with. He
 “ had himself a large Mind, and yet was the farthest Man alive from ri-
 “ diculing Men of a lower form, and from being assuming and magiste-
 “ rial in his Discourse. And, in short, he was as well a Good-natur’d and
 “ Well-bred Gentleman, as a finish’d Scholar, and profound Philosopher.
 “ This being but a little part of what might be said in his Praise, it
 “ is easy to imagine he is infinitely lamented by all who had the happi-
 “ ness of his Acquaintance, tho by his own great insight into Nature, and
 “ a constant Temperance, he preserv’d a very weak Constitution to an
 “ Age very few attain to; and at last was brought to his end by a mere
 “ gradual Decay, which made him, for some time, without Consternation,
 “ expect his Change.

P O S T S C R I P T.

SINCE * Mr. Locke is here and every where esteem’d an eminent *Free-Thinker*; and that, not seldom, in the irreligious sense of the Words; nay, has been very often esteem’d no better than a *Deist*: I shall here, by way of Vindication of his Memory, and in hopes that his Authority may make some Impression on all of us, and particularly on the real irreligious *Free-Thinkers* themselves; produce unquestionable Evidence of his fixed and last Sentiments about such Matters, from his own Words in two Letters to two of his intimate Friends: the former of which was written and sent before, and the latter written before, but order’d to be sent not till after his Death; both which I have leave to publish upon this Occasion. The concluding words of the former are these.

I wish you all manner of Prosperity in this World, and the Everlasting Happiness of the World to come: God send us a happy Meeting in the Resurrection of the Just. Adieu.

Those of the latter are these:

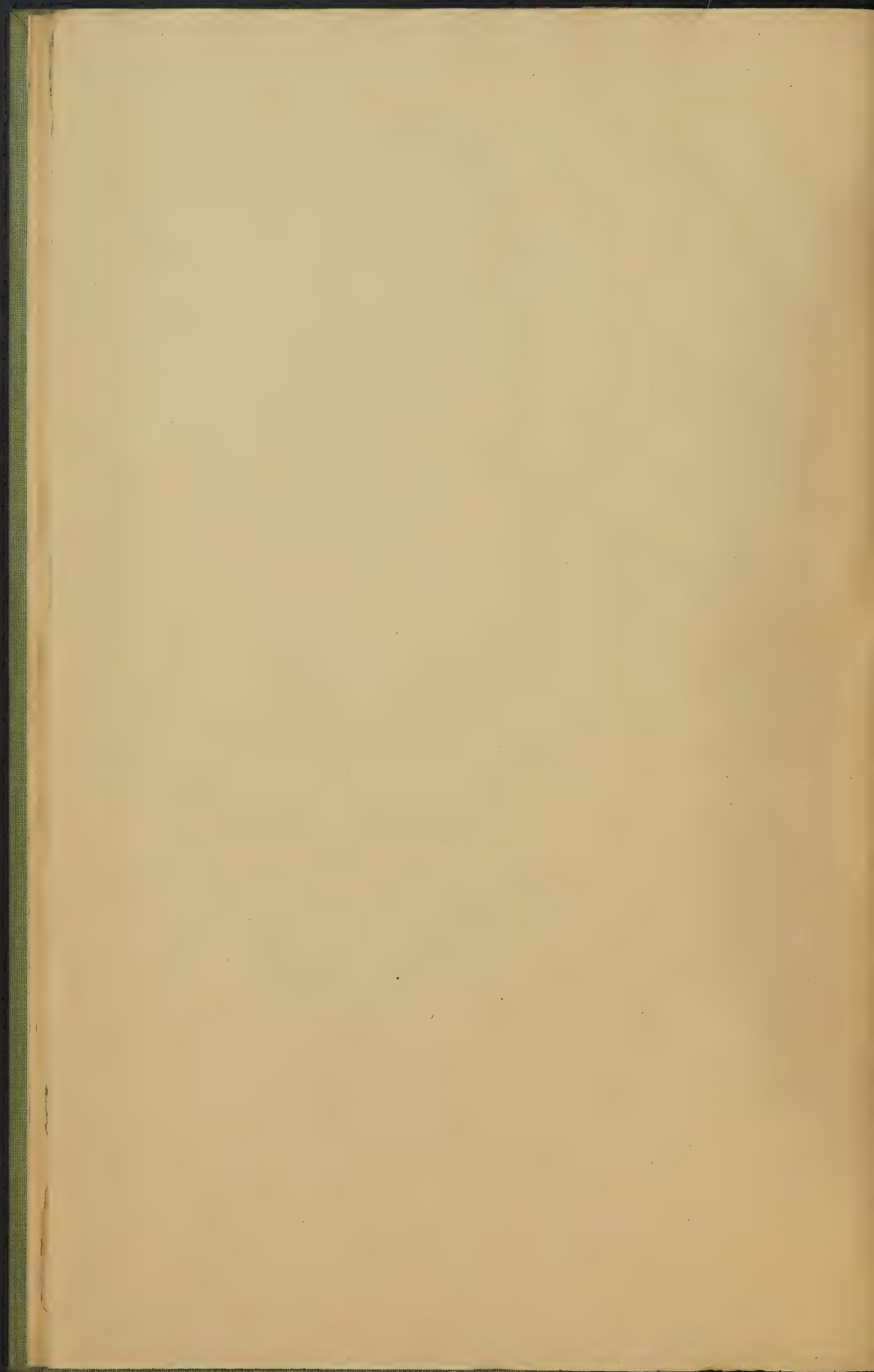
May you live long and happy in the Enjoyment of Health, Freedom, Content, and all those Blessings which Providence has bestow’d on you, and your Vertue intitles you to. I know you lov’d me living, and will preserve my Memory now I am dead. All the use to be made of it, is, that this World is a Scene of Vanity, that soon passes away, and affords no solid Satisfaction, but the Consciousness of doing well, and the Hopes of another Life. This is what I can say by Experience, and what you will find when you come to make up your Account. Adieu. I leave my best Wishes with you.

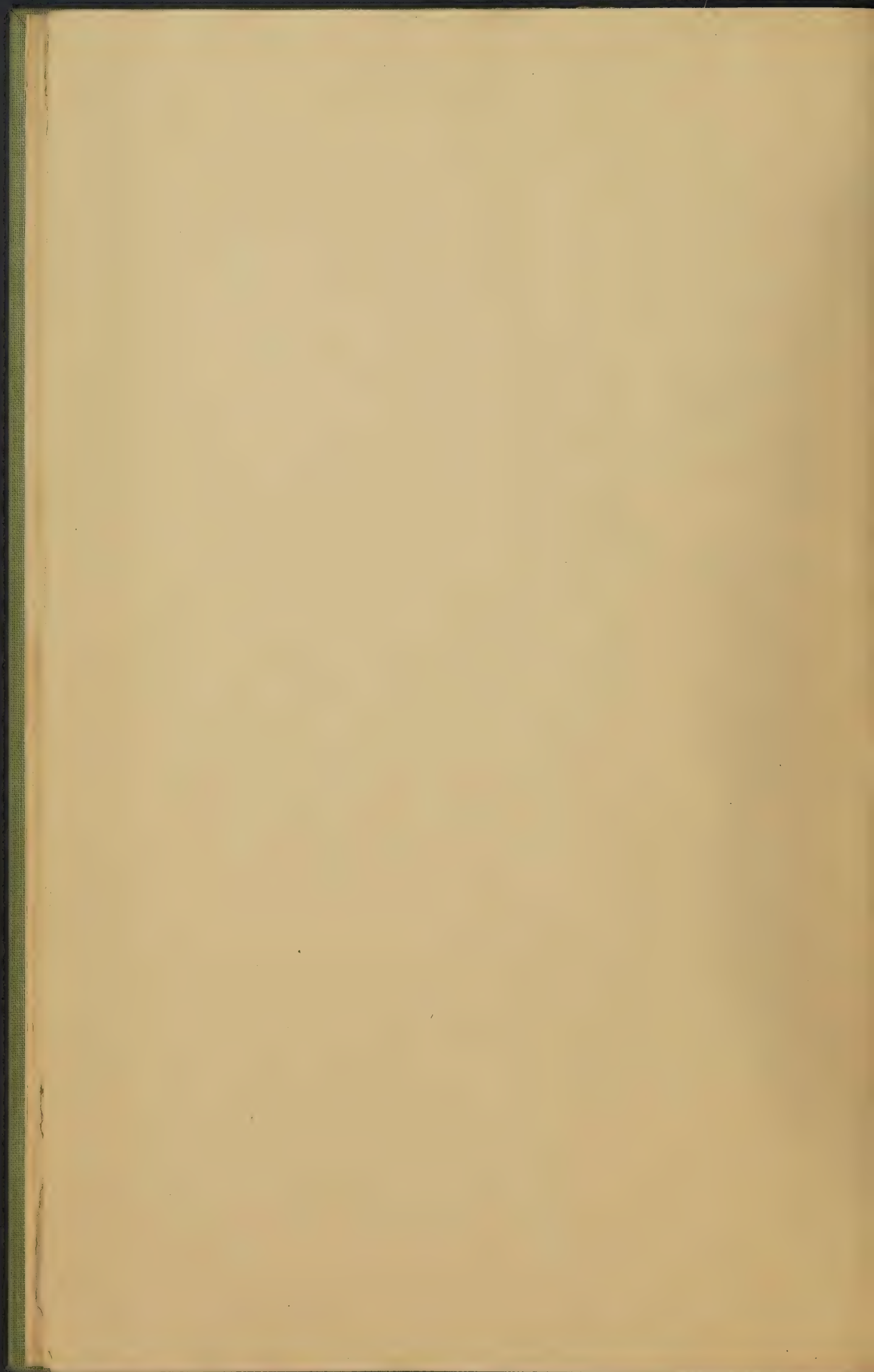
J. LOCKE.

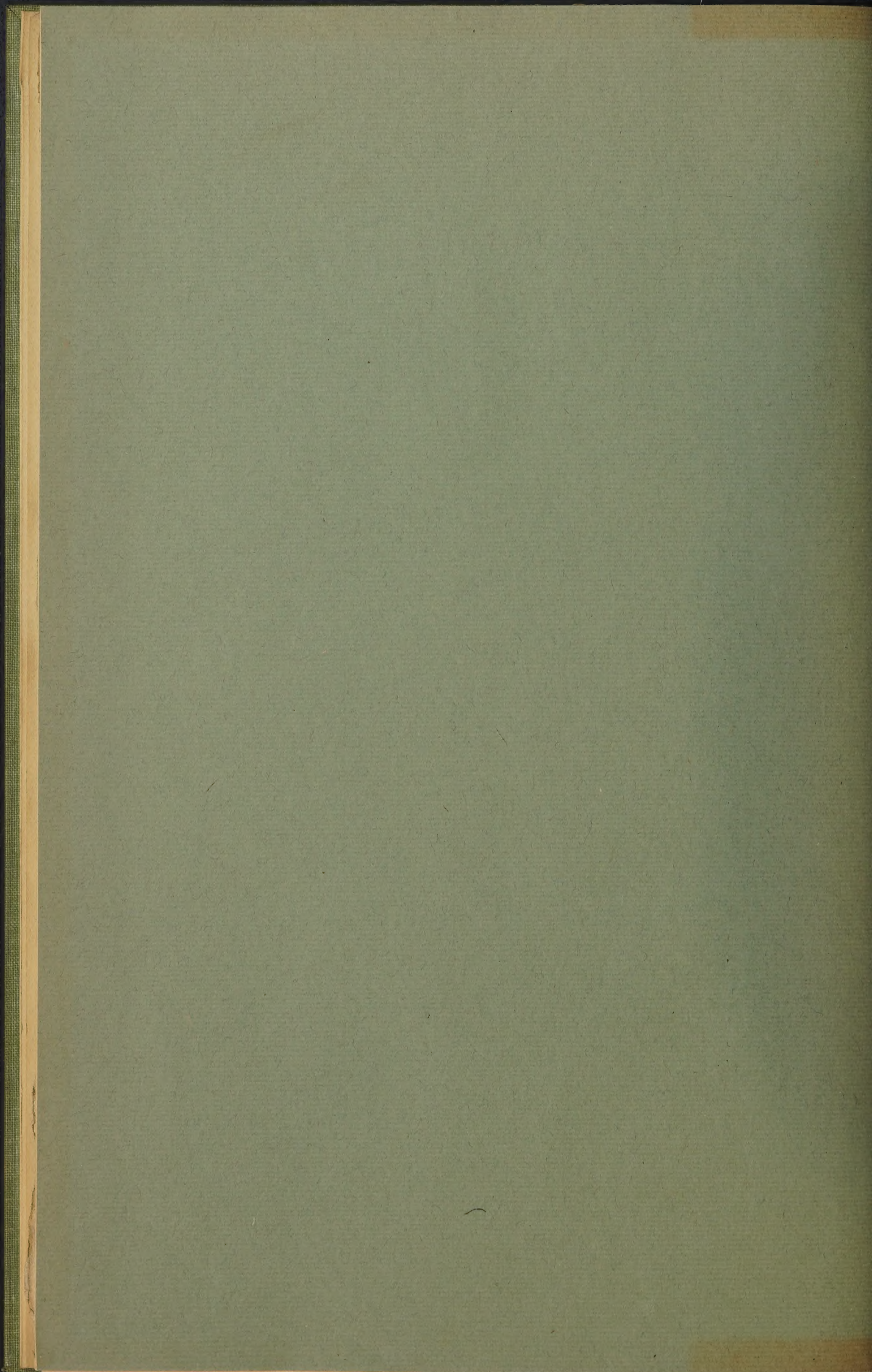
The Expressions in both are so Sensible, Serious and Christian; and come from a Person of such great Sagacity, Integrity, and Freedom; as make them exceeding Remarkable.

* *Vid.* a Pamphlet entitled, *Reflections on a Discourse of Free-Thinking*, by William Whiston, M. A. pag. 55.

F I N I S.







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